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ABSTRACT

Analysts have recently identified features such as program content that distinguish emerging administrator training programs from traditional ones. To examine variations in current approaches to school administrator training, three questions are addressed: (1) What are the variations in program content and organizational processes among emerging administrator development programs? (2) What can be learned from naturally occurring variations? (3) What are the most likely and promising directions for leadership training programs in the next decade? The implications for programmatic variations in school leader development that occur in organizational context, program governance, development goals, participation mode, and curriculum content are discussed. The most critical factor in determining the future direction of administrator development will be the general reform impulse and longevity of the state government's centralizing, interventionist role in the work of schools. (36 references) (EJS)

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New Settings and Changing Norms for Principal Development

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1. *Re-Thinking School Leadership: An Agenda for Research and Reform* by Lee G. Bolman, Susan Moore Johnson, Jerome T. Murphy, and Carol H. Weiss; Harvard University (February 1990)

   This paper presents a basic model of the relationship between leadership, situation, and outcomes. Personal characteristics of leaders and the situation in which leaders find themselves both influence what leaders do, which in turn influences the kinds of outcomes that they produce. Embedded in the model are three questions: "What is good school leadership?" "How does good school leadership come about?" and "What will good school leadership mean in the future?" Systematic ways of approaching these questions are also presented.

2. *Preparing School Administrators for the Twenty-First Century: The Reform Agenda* by Joseph Murphy; Vanderbilt University (May 1990)

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3. *What Makes a Difference? School Context, Principal Leadership, and Student Achievement* by Philip Hallinger, Leonard Bickman, and Ken Davis; Vanderbilt University (June 1990)

   This paper addresses the general question, what makes a difference in school learning? We report the results of a secondary analysis of data collected as part of the Tennessee School Improvement Incentives Project. We utilized the instructional leadership model developed by researchers at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development to guide our analyses. This conceptual model makes provision for analysis of principal leadership in relation to features of the school environment, school-level organization, and student outcomes. The paper focuses on the following research questions: (1) What antecedents appear to influence principal leadership behavior? (2) What impact does principal leadership have on the organization and its outcomes? (3) To what extent is the Far West Lab instructional leadership framework supported empirically by the data collected in this study?

4. *The Teaching Project at the Edward Devotion School: A Case Study of a Teacher-Initiated Restructuring Project* by Katherine C. Boles; Harvard University (September 1990)

   School districts around the country are in the process of initiating projects to restructure their schools. A small but growing number of these restructuring projects have been initiated by teachers, but as yet little has been written documenting the experience of classroom practitioners involved in such efforts. The purpose of this study is to add teachers' voices to the literature on restructuring. This project restructured a portion of a school and altered the work of a group of third and fourth grade teachers.

5. *Educational Reform in the 1980s: Explaining Some Surprising Success* by Joseph Murphy; Vanderbilt University (September 1990)

In this paper issues of success and failure of reform initiatives are discussed from both sides of the aisle. The paper begins with a review of the financial, political, and organizational factors which normally support the position that reform measures are likely to result in few substantive improvements. Next the argument is made that educational reform recommendations have been surprisingly successful, and some speculations as to the reasons for this unexpected outcome are presented.

6. *New Settings and Changing Norms for Principal Development* by Philip Hallinger; Vanderbilt University and Robert Wimpelberg; University of New Orleans (January 1991)

Recently analysts have identified a variety of features that distinguish emerging administrative training programs from traditional ones. The rapid, but non-systematic growth in organizations providing administrative development services during the 1980's led to considerable natural variation in programmatic content as well as in organizational processes. In particular, significant variations emerged in the operation of state sponsored leadership academies and local principals' centers. The purpose of this paper is to analyze variations in current approaches to educational leadership development. The paper addresses three questions: (1) What is the range of variation among emerging staff development programs for school leaders on dimensions of program content and organizational process? (2) What can we learn from the naturally occurring variations in administrative development? (3) What are the most likely and promising directions for administrative development programs in the next decade?

7. *Images of Leadership* by Lee G. Bolman; Harvard University and Terrence E. Deal; Vanderbilt University (January 1991)

This project has undertaken a major study of the "frames", or orientations that leaders use to guide their understanding of their work. The investigators have developed a set of survey instruments to measure four leadership orientations (structural, human resource, political, and symbolic), and collected data from leaders approach their task constituents in both education and the private sector. Their research results show that the four leadership orientations do capture significant elements of how leaders approach their task, and that those leadership variables are significantly associated with effectiveness. The results further show that the variables which predict effectiveness as a *manager* are different from those that predict effectiveness as a *leader*. In particular, structural and rational orientations are primarily predictive of manager effectiveness. This research was reported at the AERA meeting in April, 1990.

8. *Trouble in Paradise: Teacher Conflicts in Shared Decision Making* by Carol H. Weiss, Joseph Cambone and Alexander Wyeth; Harvard University (April 1991)

Many educators advocate teacher participation in school decision making as one strategy for improving schools. Through interviews with teachers and administrators in high schools that have adopted some version of shared decision making, the authors locate both advantages and disadvantages. Advantages center on great commitment and "ownership" of decisions. Disadvantages include, besides heavy time demands, the necessity for teachers to confront and negotiate with each other, a process that requires skills many teachers lack. There may also be conflicts with administrators, often because of unclear definitions of authority and responsibility. Suggestions are made for overcoming such problems.

9. *Restructuring Schools: Fourteen Elementary and Secondary Teachers' Persepctives on Reform* by Joseph Murphy, Carolyn M. Evertson and Mary L. Radnofsky; Vanderbilt University (May 1991)

Few efforts have been made to inject classroom teachers' voices into discussions on restructuring. In this article, we report on one exploratory study that begins to address this oversight. We interviewed 14 teachers from diverse roles about their views on the restructuring movement in general. We wanted to hear what they thought of the concept and to determine what effects they anticipated in restructuring schools. We also elicited their perceptions about what changes they would make in both the schools and classrooms if they were thrust into a school undergoing restructuring. We found that, while in some ways the views of these teachers were consistent with prevailing perspectives in the restructuring movement, in other cases, their preferences were at odds with the general body of literature on restructuring. We concluded that, while these teachers are optimistic about the possibilities of fundamental school reform, they remain skeptical about their ability to change the current educational system.

10. *The Effects of the Educational Reform Movement on Departments of Educational Leadership* by Joseph Murphy; Vanderbilt University (May 1991)

This paper reviews the types of revisions that preparation programs in educational leadership have begun to make in response to three related sets of pressures brought on by the reform movement of the 1980s: pressures bearing on school administrators from the larger reform agenda, i.e., improving education across the board; general critiques of and calls for improvement in educational leadership; and specific analyses and demands for change in administrator preparation programs. The results are based on questionnaires completed by 74 chairpersons in departments of educational leadership. The emerging picture is mixed. On the one hand, departments of educational administration have begun to respond to the pressures for change. In addition, for better or worse, discernable patterns in these revisions are generally consistent with the implicit demands for improvement that lace the critical reviews of the field and with the more explicit recommendations contained in the NPBEA and NCEEA reform reports. On the other hand, the response has been moderate (at best) in intensity and mixed in focus.

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NEW SETTINGS AND CHANGING NORMS FOR PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENT

by
Philip Hallinger and Robert Wimpelberg

Over the past ten years, we have witnessed dramatic changes in the contexts and delivery systems for the training and development of school administrators. Recent analysts have identified a variety of features that distinguish emerging administrative training programs from traditional ones. For example, Cooper and Boyd (1987) have noted the use of new recruitment practices, a focus on skill-based training, and development experiences that are jointly attended with corporate managers as departures from what they refer to as the one best model of university-based, administrative training. Wimpelberg (in press) has identified programmatic differences in the nature of participants, time and physical arrangements for training, roles within the training organization, content of development programs, and training procedures. Murphy and Hallinger (1987b) have described differentiating patterns in the areas of program content, organizational processes, and program focus. In sum, programs that emerged during the 1980s seem to represent a significant departure from traditional programs of administrative development for school administrators.

The purpose of these analyses has been to compare and contrast past and present administrative development practices. Distinctions among current approaches have been de-emphasized in an effort to highlight broad trends that differentiate emerging practices from traditional ones. Thus, important variations in the

organization and operation of emergent programs have been masked. Attempts to project future training needs and implement promising patterns of delivery require a richer understanding of the range of current approaches to school leadership development.

The rapid, but non-systematic, growth in organizations providing administrative development services during the 1980s led to considerable natural variation in programmatic content as well as in organizational processes. In particular, significant variations emerged in the operation of state-sponsored leadership academies and local principals' centers. The absence of empirical data on the outcomes of administrative development centers limits our ability to discuss the relative effectiveness of alternative approaches (Murphy & Hallinger, 1987; Wildman, 1989). Still, sufficient information exists on the organization and operation of these emergent centers to warrant comparison and analysis.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze variations in current approaches to leadership development of school administrators. The paper addresses three questions:

1. What is the range of variation among emerging staff development programs for school leaders on dimensions of program content and organizational process?
2. What can we learn from the naturally-occurring variations in administrative development?
3. What are the most likely and promising directions for administrative developments in the next decade?

Programmatic Variations in the Professional Development of School Leaders

In this section, we discuss important features of emerging administrative development programs with the purpose of highlighting programmatic variations. These features include organizational context, program governance, development goals, mode of participation, and curriculum context. On each of these dimensions we present the range of existing variation among programs and then discuss the implications of programmatic options for staff development policy and practice.

Prior to 1980, options for administrative in-service were limited, expectations for administrator involvement were often low, and participation by school leaders in ongoing programs of professional growth was, at best, sporadic (Wimpelberg, in press). For many administrators, professional development consisted of attendance at the annual meeting of their professional organization. Occasionally this was supplemented by a mandated district- or state-sponsored workshop related to the implementation of an administrative or curricular innovation. There was no normative expectation in the administrative culture that ongoing growth and development was important to the success of school leaders or their schools (Miles & Passow, 1957; Wimpelberg, in press). Increasingly, the need for continuous professional development is being perceived as important by governmental and educational service agencies as well as by administrators themselves (Barth, 1986a; Hallinger & McCary, in press; Levine, 1989; Murphy & Hallinger, 1986).

The dramatic growth in organizations providing professional development services for school administrators is testimony to a previously unfilled need for

administrative development. This growth has been characterized not only by an increase in the number of programs but also by the increased diversity of sponsoring agencies. State education departments, school districts, professional associations, intermediate education agencies, research and development labs and centers, as well as universities are now active providers of professional training services for school leaders (Murphy & Hallinger, 1987; Wimpelberg, in press).

To some extent, the growth of administrative development centers during the 1980s can be viewed as a two-pronged movement. State education departments organized centralized leadership academies in response to legislative pressures for school reform and accountability. They faced the substantial challenge of implementing educational reform legislation and recognized that they would need the cooperation and skills of local school administrators in order to accomplish this task successfully. Leadership academies represented a vehicle for dissemination of state priorities and programs as well as for the development of administrators' skills for tackling school improvement.

Concurrently at the local level, groups of principals began to form professional development centers in response to their self-perceived needs for professional support, growth, and development (Barth, 1986a). These centers frequently grew through grass roots participation. Sometimes these efforts were formal. Others remained informal. In all centers with which we are familiar, however, the focus has been on priorities that principals themselves identified.

While all administrative training centers capitalize on the desire of administrators for growth and for the reduction of isolation, we have observed substantial differences in program philosophy and content. Often these differences

are related to the organizational context for training.

Organizational Context

The organizational context of the administrative development center shapes the program offered to participants. The conceptual basis for programs is based on assumptions, often unstated, about the needs of practicing school leaders. Differing conceptions of professional development are often associated with the locus of development efforts. We view state and local centers as different contexts for leadership development.

State leadership academies and local principals' centers first and foremost differ in their geographical and organizational relationships to local administrators. State leadership academies are usually sponsored by the state education department and centrally located in the state capital. In large cities, regional academies supplement the central academy by *exporting* the state academy's programs to administrators (e.g., California, Texas). Principals centers are usually locally *owned and operated* and may be physically located in large school districts (e.g., San Francisco, New York City), intermediate agencies (e.g., in New York and Connecticut) or universities (e.g., Harvard University, Vanderbilt University, State University of New York at Albany).

State leadership academies and local principals' centers often differ in their fundamental purposes. The chartered purpose of state-directed efforts, with their genesis in reform legislation, is frequently to change the behaviors and job practices of school administrators to conform with a state vision of the *effective administrator*. From this perspective, professional development for principals is viewed as a piece

of the larger puzzle of school reform (Cuban 1984). In some cases, this results in a benign but pervasive norm in which principals are implicitly viewed as *broken parts* in the system. Principals are required to attend programs so that they can be *retooled* or *repaired* through in-service training. Often implicit in these programs is a deficit model of human development that is at odds with research on adult learning and development (Levine, 1989).

In contrast, principals' centers have generally formed at the behest of local principals. These centers respond to the expressed needs of principals for professional renewal, reduced isolation, and assistance in addressing specific school related problems (Barth, 1986a; Hallinger & Greenblatt, in press; Levine, 1989). Consequently, these centers tend to focus on the needs of individuals, and take a growth-oriented approach to professional development. They focus less on externally defined concerns (i.e., state and district concerns). The local nature of the center also facilitates ongoing, as opposed to sporadic, involvement of administrators in development activities.

It should be noted that these contrasting views of professional development are not always a function of sponsorship. A few state leadership academies attempt to balance state priorities with the expressed needs of local administrators (e.g., Colorado, North Carolina, Connecticut). Conversely, some programs sponsored by local school districts are based on a deficit model of professional development. Two related factors that transcend the state/local typology seem related to the nature of the professional development program: 1) program governance; 2) the nature of professional development goals.

Program Governance

As previously noted, a variety of organizations entered the administrative development arena during the 1980s. The diversity of providers has resulted in greater variation in governance structures. We use program governance to mean the organizational structures that influence the degree of input and control that administrators have over the program offered to administrators.

In the past, school administrators were often viewed as passive recipients of programs defined by someone else. Seldom were administrators actively involved in defining, developing, or delivering professional development programs. We believe that a legacy of the 1980s has been the growing recognition that norms of professionalism require the active involvement of school administrators in planning their professional development. This norm is reflected to varying degrees in the governance structures of administrative development centers that emerged during the 1980s. The range of roles administrators can play in program governance is arrayed in Figure 1.

Figure 1

ADMINISTRATOR ROLES IN THE GOVERNANCE AND OPERATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

No Governance Role		Advisory Role		Strong Governance Role
Admin's as Receivers of Program	Admin's Give Passive Input on Needs	Admin's Define Needs	Admin's Define Needs & Programs	Admin's Govern Center Operation

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On the left side of this continuum, administrators are viewed as passive recipients of training; training needs, goals, and content are defined by others. At this end of the continuum there is no administrator role in program governance. In a number of states, leadership academies have functioned according to this model. The rationale for this approach is deceptively simple. There is a pragmatic desire among state legislators to establish accountability and engineer change through improved leadership. This desire is combined with a widespread faith in the existence of a clearly defined, scientifically validated knowledge base for school leadership. Given these desires and beliefs, policymakers see no compelling reasons to devolve authority over governance issues to administrators. We elaborate on the validity and implications of this rationale later in the article. At this point, we would only note the discrepancy between this stance and the assumptions that underlie discussions of school-based management and teacher professionalism.

Administrators may serve in a variety of advisory roles in a development center. In the most limited advisory role, administrators are surveyed by the sponsoring agency in order to assess their needs. Interpretation of these data and the selection and planning of programs may be carried out and controlled by others. Numerous states and large school districts operate professional development programs under this type of governance model.

In other centers, administrators serve in a more active advisory capacity. Here administrators serve on a board or committee in formal advisory positions. The needs of administrators are actively solicited through any of a number of methods: interview, questionnaires, and/or through group discussions. Board members

interpret the needs assessment information and make decisions with respect to the selection, planning, and, at times, delivery of programs. The advisory board of the Principals' Center at Harvard University functions in this capacity.

The most active governance roles are found in centers where the by-laws invest a representative board of administrators with formal authority over programs and funds. Here administrators take full responsibility for defining their professional development needs and for planning programs to match those needs. Staff assist in this process but representatives of the client administrators maintain authority over policy and program development. The Westchester (NY) Principals' Center and the Colorado Principals' Center function with this governance model.

One additional model falls on this same end of the continuum. There are centers such as the Fairfax County (VA) Principals' Group that maintain an informal set of working rules for their center. As an informal organization, they maintain complete control over all aspects of program planning and delivery (Endo, 1987).

The symbolic and pragmatic functions of the more active forms of involvement are not to be minimized. Symbolically, such participation engenders a sense of professionalism and pride in making a contribution to the profession. Pragmatically, these modes of participation provide opportunities for professional interaction to administrators who have few opportunities to work closely with peers. Additionally, ongoing professional involvement in a local center increases the likelihood that the center's programs, whatever they may be, continue to meet the needs of the clients. Administrators are jealous guardians of their time and will seldom allocate time for professional development if it does not meet an important need. This is significant in a field traditionally inhabited by service providers operating in highly regulated

markets in which the needs perceived by the clients have been discounted or ignored.

At the same time, it is important to recognize the potential costs of a strong governance role for clients. When governance is entirely in the hands of the clientele, there may be a lack of congruence between the center's program and the organization's (i.e., state or district) goals. This criticism has been directed at certain teacher centers in which client-driven programs diverged too far from the needs of the sponsoring organization(s). Next we examine the process for setting development goals and the nature of those goals.

Development Goals

In the past, the goals for principal training and development generally derived from two sources. The first source was the culture of universities. Although universities must obtain state certification for their preparation programs, this generally occurs within broad guidelines that are subject to substantial influence by the university community (Murphy, 1990). The second source of content was the central office of school districts (Wimpelberg, in press). That is, central office administrators determined what middle managers in the organization needed to function effectively in their jobs. These perceptions influenced the goals set for district staff development programs.

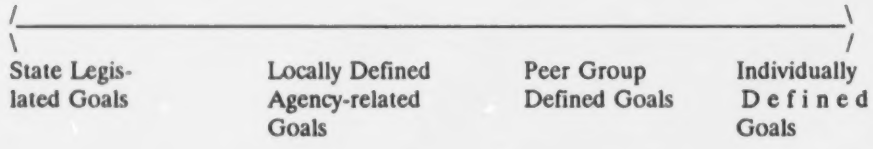
One of the major contributions to emerge from the diversity of program development over the past decade has been the increased variety of goals that drive professional development activities offered to school leaders. Agencies with widely varying missions and different relationships with the administrators who form their clientele entered the field. Universities are primarily concerned with the creation of

knowledge; state education departments with compliance and accountability; school districts with reinforcing local normative concepts of good school leadership; and professional associations with accumulating and supporting their clientele.

The organizational context from which professional development services emerge often determines the means by which goals and objectives are defined for the development program. These goals, in turn, become key determinants of the curriculum content of training programs. Conceptually, one can view the dimension of goal derivation on a continuum ranging from externally determined, agency-related goals to individually determined, principal-centered goals (see Figure 2). There is an obvious relationship between features of this continuum and program governance.

Figure 2

SOURCES OF GOALS
FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT



On the left side of this continuum fall programs in which goals are externally defined for school administrators. During the 1980s, state legislators and state education professionals were particularly active in defining education priorities and goals. In a number of states, professional development goals for principals were taken almost directly from reform legislation (e.g., Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi). These goals then guided the selection and development of the curriculum offered to

school administrators. While these goals reflect the states' education priorities, the extent to which they are relevant to local administrators varies widely (Barth, 1986b).

Also falling on this end of the continuum are professional development goals defined for administrators by the local education agency. Here the goals often relate to the priorities of the school district. As such, they are likely to be somewhat relevant to the concerns of local administrators, though there will still be variation based upon differences among individual schools and their administrators.

On the middle of this continuum fall a variety of programs. In some states, funding has been provided for centers using a decentralized model that invests local administrators with significant authority over professional development (e.g., Colorado, New York, and to a lesser degree, North Carolina). For example, in New York regional centers define locally relevant needs, goals, and activities as a condition for state funding. These centers are governed by boards of local administrators. Unlike the state academies, they are under no obligation to relate their goals to state priorities or to implement a particular curriculum. Governance mechanisms do, however, exist that ensure that center goals overlap to some extent with those of local school districts.

On the far right side of this continuum are programs that derive their goals and program objectives directly from *individual* participants. This may occur in a number of ways. A small principals' group may meet with an evolving agenda (Endo, 1987; Thoms, 1987). Or a specific program may be based upon meeting the developing interests of individuals (e.g., a visiting practitioners' program, peer-assisted leadership). In these cases, participation is voluntary and almost always responsive to a problem, need, or issue of particular importance to the individual principal(s).

In assessing the options within this dimension of center organization, we would note the importance of addressing the goals of the organization as well as those of individual administrators. In our judgment, professional development goals must address the concerns and needs of individual administrators. Programs that fail to provide options for meeting a variety of development goals are likely, over time, to fail in the accomplishment of their mission. Continuous professional growth can only occur when the needs of individuals are being met. When administrators are asked to engage in a continuous process of meeting development goals set by others, they will inevitably find reasons to disengage from the process.

Of course the organizations that fund professional development programs (i.e., state government and local school districts) have a right to expect that some of these activities will have a discernable connection to organizational goals. Employers that ask administrators to develop professional development goals often request a mix of personal professional goals and ones that are directly relevant to the organization. Currently, too few educational organizations even expect administrators to define their professional development goals. Local educational organizations need to become more pro-active in this respect (Hallinger & Greenblatt, in press). At the state policy level, an appropriate role would be to promote high expectations for professional development by encouraging administrators at the local level to set ongoing goals for professional development. The substantive mission of administrative development centers represents a second dimension of goal-related variation. That is, programs seek to have different types of influence on participants. The nature of goals addressed by development centers includes the development of knowledge, skills, attitude, beliefs, values, ideology and professional identity.

Traditional programs generally emphasized the acquisition of discipline-related, cognitive knowledge and theoretical models as a means of guiding administrative decision-making. Emerging programs exhibit considerable variation on this dimension. State-sponsored programs focus primarily on developing leadership and supervisory skills, plans for program implementation, and professional networks. Given the nature of these goals and the accountability orientation of state academies, it is surprising that few academies have undertaken systematic evaluation of the impact of their programs (Murphy & Hallinger, 1987; Wildman, 1989).

Local centers are less homogeneous in the substance of their goals. Professional socialization and problem-solving represent explicit goals for certain programs, while skill development holds primacy in others (Barth, 1986a; Hallinger, Greenblatt & Edwards, in press; Murphy & Hallinger, 1987; Thomas, 1987). There is less rhetoric about accountability and goal attainment in local centers since they generally operate on the implicit belief that responsibility for learning resides with the individuals who participate. Thus, there is less overt concern with documenting program outcomes. Despite this, it is interesting to note that the actual amount of evaluation information generated by local centers differs little from that generated by state academies. In neither instance do we have a clear picture of whether goals are attained.

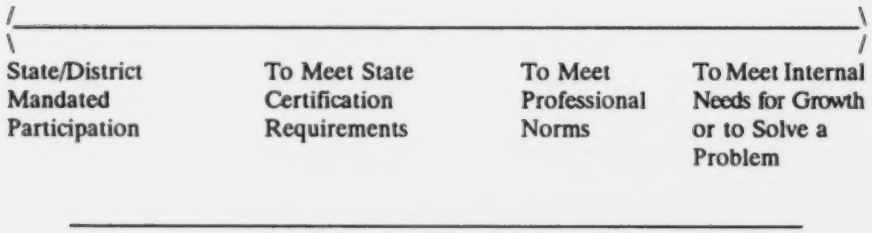
Mode of Participation

Another dimension on which emerging centers vary is the mode of participation. Participation in professional development can be motivated by several sources. These include state or district mandates, state certification requirements,

district policies or norms, and individual interests. Figure 3 portrays these as a continuum ranging from externally imposed to internally motivated participation (Hallinger & Greenblatt, in press).

Figure 3

MOTIVATORS OF ADMINISTRATOR PARTICIPATION
IN PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS


State/District Mandated Participation
To Meet State Certification Requirements
To Meet Professional Norms
To Meet Internal Needs for Growth or to Solve a Problem

On the far side of this continuum are programs in which participation in specific programs is mandated. Some states have imposed credit hour requirements for periodic re-certification and have mandated that administrators attend specifically designed programs offered through the state leadership academy (e.g., Illinois, South Carolina, Texas, Indiana, California). Similarly, large school districts have increased the number of mandated in-service days for site and central office administrators. In most cases, these requirements relate to attendance at specific workshops concerned with district-related priorities (e.g., instructional supervision).

A number of states have increased their licensing and certification requirements but have left the means of meeting those requirements to the individual administrator (e.g., Maine). That is, certification requirements may be met through university-sponsored coursework, state leadership academies, conferences run by

professional associations or by other appropriate means. Here, incentives and sanctions exist, but administrators are given the option to match the program(s) to their needs.

Local principals' centers generally emphasize voluntary participation in programs. This is based on the belief that effective learning among adults is influenced by their motivation to attend programs of personal and professional development (see Hallinger & Greenblatt, in press; Levine et al., 1987; Peterson, 1987; Thoms, 1987). Voluntary participation, within the guidelines of general policy requirements or through individual initiative, allows the individual to select a development program that meets his/her needs, both in terms of substance and format (i.e., time location, instruction). Centers that have relied upon voluntary attendance report positive experiences and a core of committed participants.

There is a tension between the costs and benefits of mandated versus voluntary participation in professional development programs. Advocates of mandated participation argue that those who may *need it* most may be absent if the decision to participate is left to the individual. Indeed, we have encountered many administrators whose pre-service training made them highly skeptical about the value of formal development programs; the norm of learning by experience on-the-job is a strong one in school administration. These administrators only became aware of the potential benefits of professional development *after* they had attended mandated in-service training sessions. Thus, mandated participation can ensure that all administrators engage in professional development, and, in the process, may stimulated norms of ongoing growth and development in the administrative culture. These goals are, however, achieved at a potentially high cost, particularly given the

possibility of meeting these goals through less broadly imposed solutions.

The costs of mandated participation are threefold. First, in cases where program attendance is mandated, there may be a mismatch between the needs of the individual and the content of the program. An individual could be motivated to grow professionally but may prefer not to attend a particular program. This has a negative impact on the outcomes we can expect from the development experience.

The second type of cost is financial. Some states are investing large amounts of money into their centralized training programs in the belief that the content is of value to all administrators. If, however, the content of programs does not match the needs of individual administrators, this represents a potentially poor investment in terms of dollars and administrators' time.

The final cost is symbolic. During an era in which educators are being encouraged to assume increased responsibility for their profession, it seems incongruous to mandate the ways in which individual administrators need to grow professionally. This runs counter to the norm of self-responsibility that administrators are being asked to encourage for others (i.e., teachers and students) in their schools (Barth, 1986b; Cuban, 1984; Levine, 1989).

One of the interesting changes we have observed over the past ten years has been the evolution of new norms among principals regarding professional development. Over the past ten years, we have witnessed the emergence of professional norms which communicate the need for continuous growth for school leaders (Barth, 1986a; Hallinger & Greenblatt, in press; Murphy & Hallinger, 1987). Whereas ten years ago it was unheard of for an administrator to allocate ten days to their professional development, today in many parts of the country this is a fairly

common occurrence, even where it is not mandated.

As more principals engage in professional development activities, emerging local norms about the value of professional development and collegial interaction have begun to shape the behavior of new principals. Although it is likely that this form of professional socialization is most powerful in local principals' center where participation is on-going and accessible, some of the same normative processes are also at work in state academies. In our judgment, state and local policies governing participation in professional development activities ought to be guided by the goal of stimulating a professional norm of on-going growth and development.

Curriculum Content

We have already suggested that the purposes of administrative development centers guide the design and content of program activities. Program activities may be based on social science theory, findings from empirical research, practice, individual insight, or some combination. Figure 4 displays these foundations for program activities on a continuum from theory to individual insight.

Figure 4

VARIATION IN CURRICULUM CONTENT
IN ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Theory-Based Instruction	Research-Based Effectiveness Correlates	Management and School-Oriented Skill Training	Problem-Based Craft Knowledge Insight	Individualized, Reflective

As a number of writers have observed, the trend during the 1980s was away from theory-based training (Cooper & Boyd, 1987; Murphy & Hallinger, 1987). Over the past thirty years, social science theory has produced no generalizable theories of indisputable value to school administration (Crownson & MacPherson, 1987). Similarly, discipline-driven research efforts have generated only a limited database of reliable knowledge about administrative processes of sufficient power to guide the daily work of school administrators (Bridges, 1982; Murphy & Hallinger, 1987). Thus, administrative development programs have, for the most part, abandoned the knowledge bases that undergirded administrative preparation programs during the 1960s and 1970s.

Cooper and Boyd (1987) have noted a movement towards the use of findings from educational research in administrative development, particularly studies of school and teacher effects. Many administrative development centers have developed programs around the content of these research literatures, despite the widely noted limitations of the findings (Murphy, Hallinger & Mitman, 1983; Rowan, Dwyer & Bossert, 1982). *Effectiveness* research became the mainstay of the training offered to administrators during the 1980s.

This was particularly true in the state leadership academies which viewed administrator effectiveness as paramount to the successful implementation of school reforms. Behaviors ascribed to effective principals and approaches to developing positive school climates were taught in awareness seminars. Consistent with the mission of the academies, these behaviors were translated into change formulations for administrators to transport to their schools. This content was often incorporated

into a standard curriculum for school administrators throughout the state.

Related to the effectiveness-driven content is training in instructional leadership. Several states revamped their requirements in the area of teacher evaluation during the 1980s (e.g., Connecticut, Texas, South Carolina). The academies were responsible for communicating the new expectations and training administrators in the necessary skills. Illinois recently passed legislation mandating that principals spend a majority of their work time on instructional leadership tasks. Corresponding training designed to equip principals with the necessary skills is being provided through a network of regional service centers. A similar approach to the dissemination of *state legitimated knowledge* has been taken in California, South Carolina, Maryland, Mississippi, West Virginia and other states.

Practice remains an additional source of program content. The rubric of practice included a variety of content. It can refer to workshops that are designed to develop managerial skills or to communicate locally relevant knowledge. This content includes up-to-date computer applications, the latest findings in school law, and contractual obligations imposed by collective bargaining (Daresh, 1986). Specific school-bound issues such as parental involvement, student discipline, and district policy implementation are common in many programs. Applied content related to such a set of technologies and practices is useful and easily packaged for the busy middle manager.

There is a second dimension of the practice rubric that focuses explicitly on the school-based problems experienced by administrators. Crowson and MacPherson (1987) have discerned a trend towards, "the exploration of pre-assisted, problem-solving, on the job learning, [and] reflective thinking...in emerging approaches to

administrative training" (1987: p.46). This trend reflects an increased emphasis on problems of practice and a validation of administrators' experience as a legitimate knowledge base. Barth and his colleagues term these understandings inductively derived from the experience of practitioners as *craft knowledge* (Barth, 1986; Levine, Barth & Haskins, 1987). Craft knowledge represents an important knowledge base, particularly among the local programs of principal development.

Both theory and research-derived training content represent deductive approaches to knowledge generation. Content that falls under the rubric of *craft knowledge* tends to be generated using inductive methods of inquiry and analysis. When used in development programs, these inductive approaches to knowledge acquisition emphasize experiential learning and the generation of personally useful frameworks for understanding how to approach problems of practice (Barth, 1986a; Barnett, 1987; LaPlant, 1987; Leithwood, 1989). This can take a variety of forms: facilitated groups that focus on issues of leadership and school improvement (LaPlant, 1987); peer observation and learning (Barnett, 1987); shared journal writing (Schainker & Roberts, 1987); case writing (Silver, 1987); problem-solving around issues of practice in collegial groups (Endo, 1987; Hallinger, Greenblatt & Edwards, in press; Levine et al., 1987; Thoms, 1987).

Changes in the curriculum content offered to school leaders in development programs reflect evolving conceptions of their roles. During the 1980s, a clear trend emerged in which principals were expected to assume greater responsibility for instructional leadership in schools. Managerial leadership was no longer sufficient (Cuban, 1988). The effectiveness research represented a seemingly appropriate knowledge base with which to equip all administrators. State academies became the

vehicle for reaching practicing administrators.

The extent to which the effectiveness research has been incorporated into administrative development indicates the kind of *essentialist* role it plays in our current thinking about good school management. It comes the closest, as an element of training content, to a kind of neo-orthodoxy that may displace classical motivation and leadership theory in the traditional paradigm. At a minimum, the behavioral focus of current efforts has already displaced the theory movement in administrative training in education (Cooper & Boyd, 1987; Crowson & MacPherson, 1987; Murphy & Hallinger, 1987).

We must, however, point out a remarkable incongruity between the rhetoric of most state-directed efforts to improve school leadership and the actual practices of academies. We have already noted that most academies are concerned primarily with addressing educational accountability issues through the development of improved instructional leadership skills. Yet, to our knowledge, no academies have implemented their training programs in a manner that research suggests will result in effective implementation of new skills. That is, no academies have systematically incorporated intensive on-site coaching into their main training programs for school leaders. Coaching for administrators is an expensive, but necessary component of training if transfer of learning is to occur (Joyce & Showers, 1987). Thus, there is little reason to believe that the rhetorical concern of the academies with results will be achieved in practice. We return to this issue in the final section of this article.

The Future of School Leadership Development: Building on Lessons of the 1980s

Given the variations that we have observed among the emerging development programs for school administrators, we are prompted to look to the next developmental phase and predict which kinds of content pre-dispositions and service delivery modes will find favor. If earlier analyses are correct (Cooper & Boyd, 1987; Murphy & Hallinger, 1987; Pohland, Milstein, Schilling and Tonigan, 1988; Wimpelberg, in press), a paradigmatic shift has occurred, and the deductive, theory-driven, university-based approach to administrative development will continue to diminish in importance. Nevertheless, the question remains as to which variants among the new programmatic orientations will flourish.

We believe that the most critical factor in determining the direction of administrative development in education over the next twenty years will be the direction of the reform impulse, generally, and the longevity of the centralizing, interventionist role of state government in the work of the schools. State reform efforts based on the dichotomized view of local control versus state control prevalent in the 1980s would push administrative development toward the left side on each of the continuum in our present analysis (Timar & Kirp, 1989). State legislators and policymakers are prone to emphasize accountability and to search for certainty in the realm of school improvement. As such, they may remain favorably disposed towards:

*needs and development goals that are externally defined and that emphasize organizational priorities;

*relatively low levels of control by administrators over program governance;

*mandated participation in state-designed programs;

*standardized, empirically-derived curricula that emphasize effectiveness research.

Given this possibility, some of the assumptions behind such programs require additional analysis. First, as noted under our discussion of curriculum content, the state-initiated development efforts often utilize standard curricula focusing on the dissemination of effective principal and teacher behaviors. The legitimacy of these curricula is derived from their basis in *research on the correlation between school and classroom effectiveness.* The research and resulting training content are treated as scientifically validated, generalizable knowledge.

It is not our intention to minimize the contributions of these fields of research. We would, however, note that the research base for training content has neither been scientifically validated through experimental research nor generalized across different school settings. The subject of generalizability is particularly troublesome given the substantial contextual variations among schools and classrooms (Hallinger & Murphy, 1986, 1987; Peterson, 1978). The existing research base, although more optimistic and grounded than in the past, remains ambiguous with respect to many important issues related to effective leadership in schools (Bridges, 1982; Rowan, et al., 1982; Murphy, et al., 1983).

We have already observed that the theory movement in educational administration has been largely replaced by a focus on effective behaviors and competencies. Barth (1986b) critiques approaches to leadership development that are grounded in the behaviors of effective principals.

> [These assume that] teachers and principals ... can be trained to display the desirable traits of their counterparts in high-achieving schools. Then their pupils will excel, too. School improvement, then, is an

> attempt to identify what school people should know and be able to do and to devise ways to get them to know how to do it ... [M]ost teachers and principals respond to even the most enlightened lists not with renewed energy, vigor and motivation, but rather with feelings of oppression, guilt and anger. The vivid lack of congruence between the way schools are and others would have them be causes most schoolpeople to feel overwhelmed, insulted, and inadequate. (p. 111)

We have witnessed this type of frustration among principals following their return to their school buildings after a week of two of intensive training. The knowledge that somewhere else an *effective principal* behaves in a particular manner is not necessarily helpful knowledge. Principals already concede that they do not act in ways consistent with their beliefs about school leadership. We contend that development activities not grounded in the school-based experiences of administrators are likely to have little or no impact on their attitudes or behaviors.

Principals may return from training sessions with new skills and perspectives but the school structure has not changed during their absence. March (1978) noted in his analysis of public school administration that, "although improving educational administration undoubtedly involves changing it, basic feature of the administrative context of schooling can neither be ignored nor routinely changed. In particular, the description above suggests a context that is ambiguous, diffuse, parochial, and normative" (p. 228). These characteristics of schooling represent obstacles to any professional development program that has school improvement as its goal.

We would, however, suggest that approaches which emphasize the application of *effective behaviors* are particularly handicapped by the ambiguous, diffuse, and normative context of schools since they operate on such a low level of abstraction. Such programs seek change in principal behavior through overly-simplistic means. It is possible that programs that focus less on specific behaviors and more on

professional socialization and commitment may have greater effects on behavioral change.

We have noted the relative infrequency of substantive program follow-up in the forms of coaching or on-site technical assistance in professional development programs. While these forms of technical assistance and support require substantially greater allocations of resources (i.e., time and money), sponsors who are serious about changing principal behaviors would presumably be concerned with the relative cost-effectiveness of ventures that do not include such components. These features are particularly surprising given what we know about the characteristics of effective staff development and change implementation in schools.

Similarly, we have observed that nationally there is an almost total absence of any meaningful program evaluation, even among the state-directed leadership academies (Murphy & Hallinger, 1986, 1987; Wimpelberg, in press). It is remarkable that programs initiated to improve system accountability by increasing the effectiveness of school administrators would ignore the same literature on organizational change and attend so marginally to the inspection of program outcomes. Though seemingly paradoxical, this phenomenon is highly consistent with the traditional functioning of schools and may be explained by an analysis of school as a social institution.

As a consequence of societal competition, schools have come under increased pressure to improve the performance of students. Yet, the ability of school administrators to improve dramatically the measurable performance of schools remains limited (March, 1978; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). For example, March (1978) observed that:

> Administrators and students of administration generally agree that what administrators do is important. The tasks assigned to them are endowed with labels that suggest the centrality of their activities - planning, coordination, control, decision making, leadership. Despite this importance, it is often difficult to describe precisely what administrators do in behavioral terms, to relate the observable behavior to the task activities specified, or to detect the impact of administrative behavior on schooling. (p. 230).

Although the knowledge base in educational administration has improved somewhat since 1978, our understanding of administrative processes and their impact on educational organizations remains limited (Bridges, 1982). In the face of such technical ambiguity, educational organizations respond by appearing as the public would expect them to appear if they did in fact have control over the outcomes of their actions. States allocate additional resources, impose higher standards (e.g., certification, course requirements), develop new social rituals (e.g., training academies), and draw upon *scientifically-validated knowledge* as the basis for retraining of school leaders. These actions reinforce the social perception that what administrators do is important and demonstrates to the public that additional allocations of resources for schooling are warranted.

To the extent that administrative preparation and development need a standard scientifically-validated curriculum to maintain legitimacy in the public perception, the research-based effectiveness correlates and the models of effective instruction may well persist in the twenty-first century as the socially approved content. There is already some evidence that the programmatic content has spread through formal and informal networks across states along with the more general features of the state-led reform agenda. The legitimation of a program in one state provides a basis for legitimation in another.

Another scenario for the future is also possible. School administrators may begin to take a more active role in defining the direction of their profession. To the extent that this occurs, we see the possibility that local leadership development efforts could displace, head off, or modify centralized development efforts.

If intermediate organizations and school districts determine the shape and scope of administrative development, we predict that the content will move toward a middle ground that emphasizes skill learning with direct applications to the task environments in which principals work. Although school district in-service often includes an awareness of research on effective teaching and effective schools, central office administrators witness the day-to-day problems about which school-based people complain. Thus, there tends to be greater concern about follow-up, though as we noted earlier there is a surprising lack of implementation support or evaluation in any of the programs with which we are familiar.

It is most difficult to envision the future of the most individualistically-oriented programs, those located on the far right side of the continual described earlier. Such programs often have little appeal to those who monitor system performance, be they education department officials or school superintendents. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the research-based programs of professional training and development produce the desired results, the reform-oriented, normative expectations of policymakers will reduce the likelihood that individualistic approaches to leadership development will gain widespread favor and support.

Although all forums in which principals gather represent opportunities for professional socialization, we have observed qualitative differences between the processes at work on the different ends of the aforementioned continuum. Where

goals, objectives, and content are defined by others and teaching is in the hands of experts, principals may be socialized to norms of dependency and inadequacy. As we have noted, legitimacy derived by meeting socially mandated expectations (e.g., recertification) often leaves the principal feeling empty and inadequate upon returning to the school. It is possible that individualized, reflective modes of professional development, though lacking social legitimacy, may produce lasting change in attitudes and commitment to the job role. These processes emphasize the exchange of personalized constructions of knowledge and reshape the principals' normative conceptions of what it means to be a principal.

The analysis conducted in this paper describes our observations of the current scene in administrative development education. The issues raised in the paper represent unanswered questions of significant importance to educational policy and practice. Staff development, particularly for administrators, remains an attractive domain of activity for school reformers and policy makers. There have been substantial increases in monetary allocations to staff development for school administrators over the past ten years at the federal, state, and local levels. We hope that funding agencies begin to view the systematic evaluation of these efforts as high priorities as well. The natural variation in this field offers important opportunities for generating information that is useful for both policy and practice.

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